

ACCESS TO GUNS IN THE HEAT OF THE MOMENT: MORE RESTRICTIVE GUN LAWS MITIGATE THE EFFECT OF TEMPERATURE ON VIOLENCE

Jonathan Colmer and Jennifer L. Doleac*

Abstract—Gun violence is a major problem in the United States, and extensive prior work has shown that higher temperatures increase violent behavior. We consider whether restricting the concealed carry of firearms mitigates or exacerbates the effect of temperature on violence. We use two identification strategies that exploit daily variation in temperature and variation in gun control policies between and within states. We provide evidence that more-prohibitive concealed-carry laws attenuate the temperature-homicide relationship. Our findings are consistent with more-prohibitive policy regimes reducing the lethality of altercations.

I. Introduction

GUN violence imposes significant costs on society. Loss of life is by far the largest of these costs. This is a particular problem in the United States, where gun violence is the leading cause of death for Black Americans aged 15–24 (CDC, 2020). Given the well-established link between higher temperatures and violent behavior, this problem is likely to worsen as temperatures rise due to climate change, unless this link can be mitigated.

In this paper, we consider whether gun regulations, particularly those governing the concealed carry of handguns, can mitigate the effect of temperature on homicide rates. We leverage the causal relationship established in the environmental economics, physiology, and psychology literatures, which shows that higher temperatures act as an exogenous shock that increases violent behavior.¹ Combining jurisdiction-day variation in temperature with state-by-month variation in concealed-carry laws, we then test whether the effect of temperature on violent behavior varies with different policy regimes. Specifically, we examine whether strict concealed-carry laws mitigate or exacerbate temperature-induced changes in homicide rates, holding other factors constant.

Received for publication May 17, 2021. Revision accepted for publication September 11, 2023. Editor: Will Dobbie.

*Colmer: University of Virginia; Doleac: Arnold Ventures.

We thank Will Dobbie for his comments and guidance, and four anonymous referees whose suggestions have significantly improved the paper. We are very grateful to Keanan Gleason, Kelsey Pukelis, and Savannah Quick for outstanding research assistance. We thank Amanda Agan, Naomi Colmer, John Donohue, David Eil, John Pepper, Megan Stevenson, and participants at the 2019 Conference on Empirical Legal Studies and the 2020 ASSA Annual Meeting for helpful comments.

A supplemental appendix is available online at https://doi.org/10.1162/rest_a_01395.

¹The existing literature has posited that higher temperatures could affect criminal activity through a number of channels, including: changes in police behavior, as suggested by Heilmann and Kahn (2021); an increase in the likelihood that people go outside, which increases the likelihood of social interaction, the availability of potential victims, and the likelihood that an altercation arises (Jacob et al., 2007); physiological or psychological mechanisms that affect aggressive and impulsive behavior (Anderson, 2001; Groves & Anderson, 2016).

To engage with different identification concerns, we use two different research designs. First, we exploit between-state differences in the policy regime, using a Differences-in-Temperature (DiT) research design. The intuition for this approach is closest to a difference-in-differences research design, with temperature playing the role of time. The DiT design exploits differences in the temperature-homicide relationship between states with different concealed-carry laws. By considering average effects between places, rather than changes in policy regime over time within a place, this approach avoids concerns that changes in gun laws are confounded by *temporary* changes in local preferences or priorities that soon revert back to normal—as might happen in the aftermath of a mass shooting, when gun violence is particularly salient. However, the design relies on the assumption that there are no other differences between states that also moderate the temperature-homicide relationship.

Second, we exploit panel variation in policy changes using a Difference-in-Differences-in-Temperature (DiDiT) research design. The intuition for this approach is closest to a triple-difference research design. The triple interaction of temperature, state, and “post” identifies the moderating effect of concealed-carry laws under the assumption that the temperature-homicide relationship would have remained the same absent the law change. The DiDiT approach is not affected by differences between states that might moderate the temperature-homicide relationship. However, the DiDiT approach could be biased if any other changes that coincide with the policy change also moderate the temperature-homicide relationship.

Both approaches yield similar results. Using daily data from the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) from 1991–2016, we find that gun laws that limit residents’ ability to carry concealed firearms mitigate the effect of temperature on homicides. Using our DiT approach, we estimate that a 1°C increase in the daily average temperature is associated with 0.000511 fewer daily homicides per 100,000 people during more-prohibitive policy regimes—a 4.2% decrease compared to the mean. Using our DiDiT approach, we estimate that a 1°C increase in the daily average temperature is associated with 0.000349 fewer daily homicides per 100,000 people during more-prohibitive policy regimes—a 2.9% decrease compared to the mean.

In additional analysis, we document that our estimates are driven by homicides involving guns, as one would expect if we are isolating the differential effect of gun laws. We do not estimate any increase in the effects on nongun homicides. We also present findings that more-prohibitive gun laws are not associated with any differential effect of temperature on aggravated assaults. These findings are consistent

with more-prohibitive policy regimes reducing the lethality of altercations.

We also provide new insights into the mechanisms underlying the temperature-homicide relationship. While there are fewer homicides on days with more precipitation, we do not estimate any differential effect of concealed-carry laws on the precipitation-homicide relationship. This finding suggests that the physiological and psychological effects of heat may be more important in explaining the temperature-homicide relationship than increased social interaction. Further support for this interpretation comes from estimates that examine when and where homicides occur. We estimate larger differential effects on homicides in the afternoon and evening hours, when temperatures are highest. We also estimate that higher temperatures are associated with more homicides both within the home and outside.²

Our findings contribute to the lengthy and contentious literature in economics, criminology, and public health, studying the effect of gun laws on violent crime.³ Instead of evaluating the direct effect of gun laws on violent crime we explore how gun laws interact with local shocks to mitigate or exacerbate the effects of those events. We are aware of only one other paper that considers how gun laws interact with local events. In concurrent work, Koenig and Schindler (2023) test for differential effects of a spike in handgun purchases on homicides, comparing outcomes in places with firearm purchase delay laws to those without such laws. They find that purchase delay laws reduced the effect of the Sandy Hook shooting on subsequent gun purchases and homicides by 7%–8% and 2%, respectively. Like Koenig and Schindler (2023), we find economically meaningful effects, with more-prohibitive gun laws substantially mitigating the effect of temperature on homicides. In both contexts, the marginal homicide is likely impulsive rather than premeditated. This is important to understand because crimes of passion may be less influenced by other policy levers, such as the probability of getting caught or potential punishments.

More generally, our findings and those of Koenig and Schindler (2023) suggest that *all* evaluations of gun laws will be sensitive to external factors. To the extent that

temperature-driven homicides and other impulsive homicides account for a large share of all homicides, we may expect there to be greater heterogeneity in the overall effects of laws, regulations, and policies over time and space. In hotter years, temperature will contribute more, while in cooler years, it will contribute less. In a political context where it is difficult to strengthen gun laws, our findings highlight the need to better understand the extent to which we can influence the external factors that shape violent behavior.

We also contribute to an established literature documenting the effects of temperature on violent behavior (Hsiang et al., 2013; Ranson, 2014; Dell et al., 2014; Burke et al., 2015; Carleton & Hsiang, 2016) and a growing literature highlighting how the economic and policy environment shapes the translation of environmental conditions into economic and social damages (Mullins & White, 2020; Colmer, 2021; Colmer et al., 2021; Garg et al., 2023). Compared to the existing literature we use more detailed daily data on crime to estimate the temperature-homicide relationship and provide the first evidence that gun laws affect the temperature-homicide relationship. We also provide evidence that the dominant mechanism driving the temperature-homicide relationship is physiological rather than social, at least in the context of the United States.⁴

The paper proceeds as follows. Section II describes our data, section III describes our two empirical strategies, section IV presents our main results, section V presents additional results exploring mechanisms and heterogeneity, and section VI discusses the implications of our results.

II. Data

A. Homicide

Our main outcome measure is the number of nonnegligent homicides reported to police, per 100,000 residents. Our findings are robust to alternative transformations of this outcome variable, including whether any homicides occurred within a jurisdiction on a given day. We focus on homicides because this crime type is the most consistently reported across jurisdictions and over time and is less subject to measurement error.⁵

²Evidence of a temperature-homicide relationship within the home is consistent with other studies that document higher temperature affecting decision-making even in climate-controlled environments. Heyes and Saberian (2019) document that higher outdoor temperatures reduce the likelihood of favorable judge decisions in immigration cases, despite those decisions being made in climate controlled conditions.

³The existing literature finds mixed evidence, and estimates tend to be sensitive to choice of empirical specification. Lott and Mustard (1997) and Moody (2001) find that RTC laws are associated with reduced violent crime. Ludwig (1998) finds that such laws are associated with increases in adult homicide rates. Black and Nagin (1998) and Ayres and Donohue (2003) find no association between RTC laws and violent crime. Manski and Pepper (2018) demonstrate that results can be sensitive to bounding exercises and find suggestive evidence that the association between RTC laws and crime changes over time, estimating reductions in the 1990s but increases in the 2000s. Using data from 1977 through 2014, Donohue et al. (2019) find that RTC laws are associated with increases in violent crime. See Wellford et al. (2005) and Smart et al. (2023) for a more comprehensive review.

⁴Existing evidence has tended to come from field or laboratory experiments, or in contexts where the behavioral mechanism is isolated. Higher temperatures have been shown to: increase horn honking when cars fail to pull away at green lights (Kenrick & MacFarlane, 1986); increase tension, aggression, and negative perceptions of offenders during police fire arms training (Vrij et al., 1994); increase the likelihood that pitchers hit batters during baseball games when batters “crowd the plate,” or if a teammate has been hit in a previous inning (Reifman et al., 1991; Larrick et al., 2011); and increase the likelihood of aggressive penalties in NFL football games (Curtis et al., 2016). More recently, Mukherjee and Sanders (2021) show that higher temperatures cause more violent incidents in prisons without air conditioning, a context where restrictions on inmates’ movements help isolate physiological responses to temperature from any effects driven through increased social interactions.

⁵Most studies focus on homicide as the primary outcome of interest for the same reason we do: there is less measurement error in reporting for this type of crime. While other types of crimes may go unreported to the police,

TABLE 1.—DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

	(1) All	(2) More-prohibited	(3) Less-prohibited	(4) Difference (2–3)	(5) Observations
Homicides per 100,000 people	0.0121 (0.00195)	0.00921 (0.00275)	0.0131 (0.0018)	–0.0039* (0.00204)	13,495,334
Gun homicides 100,000 people	0.00698 (0.00136)	0.005 (0.00185)	0.00763 (0.00128)	–0.00264* (0.00138)	13,495,334
Nongun homicides 100,000 people	0.00517 (0.000595)	0.00421 (0.000911)	0.00548 (0.00053)	–0.00127* (0.000692)	13,495,334
Aggravated assaults 100,000 people	0.894 (0.149)	0.929 (0.177)	0.882 (0.154)	0.0464 (0.128)	13,495,334
Population	30,644 (2,108)	27,498 (2,174)	31,682 (2,514)	–4,185 (3,035)	13,495,334
Average daily temperature (°C)	11.98 (0.745)	11.04 (0.625)	12.29 (0.824)	–1.25* (0.655)	13,495,334
Total daily precipitation (mm)	2.90 (0.151)	2.96 (0.20)	2.88 (0.17)	0.078 (0.212)	13,495,334

Standard errors are clustered at the state level. Significance levels are indicated as *0.1, **0.05, and ***0.01.

NIBRS. Our main data source is the FBI’s National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS).⁶ The NIBRS data includes more detailed information than the FBI’s Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), including information on the hour and date of the offense, where the offense took place (e.g., at home or on the street), and whether any weapons were involved. Incidents are associated with a specific police department (ORI, which we will also refer to as jurisdiction). However, fewer departments report to NIBRS than to the FBI’s Uniform Crime Reports (UCR). NIBRS tends not to include large cities, and places in the northeast and west are underrepresented.

We use NIBRS data from 1991 through 2016. We gather data on homicides and aggregate these data to the jurisdiction-day level. This allows us to match them to daily average temperatures. This results in an unbalanced panel, as departments drop in and out of the sample over time; we discuss how we account for the changing composition of the panel in the sample restrictions section below.

Sample restrictions. The primary challenge associated with using NIBRS data is that the number of reporting agencies varies over time. To account for this, we construct panels that are balanced at the year level and exploit within-year variation to identify our estimates.

To do this, we drop observations for any reporting agency that did not report 12 months of data for that year. This includes agencies that only report on a quarterly, biannual, or annual basis, since we cannot be sure how crimes were allocated across the months. Since zeros are often recorded

the vast majority of homicides are reported. Two exceptions are studies using gunshot sensor data on shootings: Carr and Doleac (2016, 2018). These data provide useful complements to homicide data since shootings occur much more often, and the sensors reduce concerns about nonrandom reporting. However, data are available only in a limited number of cities and in recent years.

⁶In additional analyses, we also use the FBI’s Uniform Crime Reports (UCR). However, the data are available only at the monthly level. This is less than ideal for our study because we want to match crimes with local temperatures, which fluctuate on a daily basis.

for all types of crime when an agency did not report its data to the FBI, we consider any month during which an agency reported zero total crimes to be a missing observation. After eliminating years during which there were any missing monthly observations, we then sum the total number of reported crimes from remaining agencies to produce a total for each jurisdiction day.

Our final analysis dataset includes 5,934 jurisdictions from 1991–2016, providing 13,495,334 unique jurisdiction-day observations. Table 1 presents summary statistics.

B. Weather Data

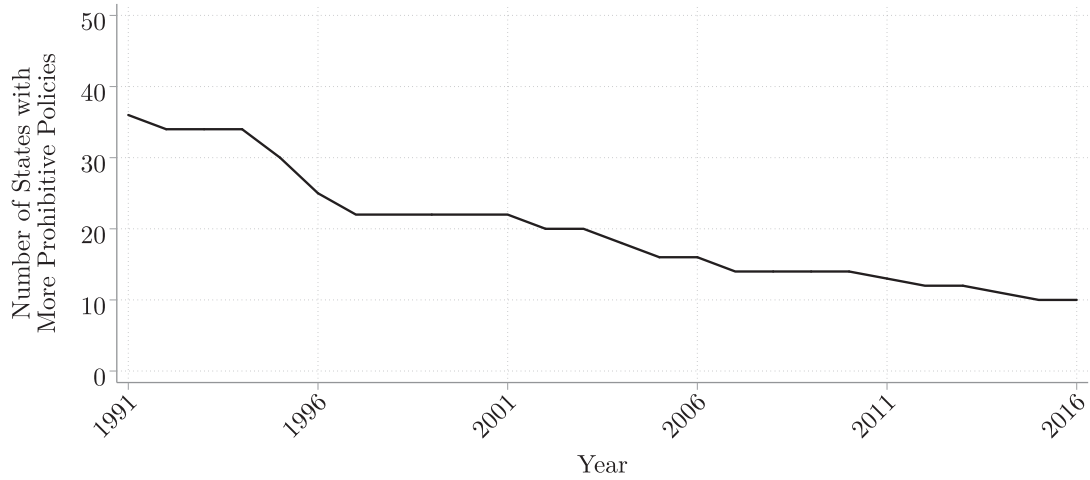
Data on weather, updated from Schlenker and Roberts (2009), come from the PRISM Climate Group. These data provide daily minimum and maximum temperature, as well as total precipitation on a 2.5×2.5 mile grid for the contiguous United States between 1950 and 2017. Using these data, we calculate the daily average temperature and total precipitation for each county-by-day observation. We then match counties to jurisdictions; counties typically encompass multiple jurisdictions.

C. Policy Data

We code concealed-carry laws at the state-month level, considering a place treated by a particular policy if it was in effect in that state for the majority of a given month.⁷ These state-level laws determine whether a permit is required to carry a concealed firearm on their person, and specify who is eligible to obtain a permit. In some states, the legal ability to carry a concealed firearm is completely unrestricted; “shall issue” policies are slightly more restrictive but instruct government officials to provide permits to all eligible residents; “may issue” policies provide more discretion to local officials to decide who can receive a permit and thus are

⁷We are grateful to Christopher Poliquin, Michael Luca, and Deepak Malhotra for sharing this data with us.

FIGURE 1.—THE EVOLUTION OF MORE-PROHIBITIVE CONCEALED CARRY LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES (1991–2016)



The policy data were hand coded by Chris Poliquin and coauthors using Cook and Ludwig's *Evaluating Gun Policy*, Vernick and Hepburn's *State and Federal Gun Laws: Trends for 1970–1999* as well as state statutes and session laws.

considered substantially more restrictive in practice; finally, a state might prohibit any resident from carrying a concealed firearm in public. More lenient laws are often referred to as Right-to-Carry (RTC) laws. We code concealed-carry gun laws into four categories: unrestricted, shall-issue, may-issue, and prohibited. To improve statistical power, we aggregate the first two types of laws into a “less-prohibitive” category, with the third and fourth types making up a “more-prohibitive” category. In robustness tests, we also use state-month variation on whether background checks and waiting periods—two other commonly analysed types of gun law—were in place. In figure 1, we see that there has been a gradual movement from more-prohibitive laws to less-prohibitive laws over the period of interest.

III. Empirical Strategy

Based on existing literature, we expect that confrontations are more likely to occur and escalate when it is warmer outside, providing within-place variation in violent behavior that is unrelated to local gun laws. We argue that the outcome or lethality of any confrontation may depend on whether or not guns are available, which may, in turn, depend on local gun laws. We exploit this exogenous variation in the supply of violence to understand the extent to which concealed-carry laws mitigate or exacerbate the number of homicides committed.

To do this, we use two research designs, which we refer to as “differences-in-temperature” (DiT) and “difference-in-differences-in-temperature” (DiDiT) designs. Both research designs require that daily temperature realizations are uncorrelated with other factors that also affect the likelihood of committing a violent crime. By exploiting exogenous daily fluctuations in temperature, we believe this assumption is plausible.

A. Differences-in-Temperature

One threat to identification is that concealed-carry law changes may coincide with other temporary changes in preferences or local priorities. For example, a local crime event, such as a mass shooting, might make gun violence temporarily more salient, leading to a change in concealed-carry laws, as well as demand for guns and attitudes toward gun users. In such contexts, estimates based on policy changes could be confounded by these other changes.

To address this identification concern, we use a differences-in-temperature (DiT) strategy. The DiT design compares the effect of daily temperature fluctuations on homicides between places with different concealed-carry laws. The policy variation we exploit is cross-sectional, which is not a problem if the primary threat to identification is that changes in gun laws are confounded by temporary changes in public sentiment or local priorities in the months around the policy change. This identification strategy relies on the assumption that no other time-invariant differences exist between policy regimes that could also moderate the temperature-homicide relationship.

We estimate the following empirical specification,

$$y_{j,d} = \alpha_{m(d)} + \gamma_{m(d)}f(w_{j,d}) + \delta_{m(d)}\text{More-Prohibitive}_{s(j),m(d)} + \beta_1^w f(w_{j,d})_{j,d} \times \text{More-Prohibitive}_{s(j),m(d)} + \varepsilon_{j,d}, \quad (1)$$

where $y_{j,d}$ denotes an outcome observed for jurisdiction j and day d , and $f(w_{j,d})$ denotes a function of weather variables that includes daily average temperature, temperature $_{j,d}$, and total daily precipitation, precipitation $_{j,d}$. We control for precipitation to account for the correlation between temperature and precipitation. $\text{More-Prohibitive}_{s(j),m(d)} \in \{0, 1\}$ indicates state-month-year observations where more-prohibitive concealed-carry laws

are in place, where subscript $s(j)$ denotes the state of jurisdiction j and subscript $m(d)$ denotes the month-year of day d .⁸ We include month-year fixed effects and interact these fixed effects with temperature $_{j,d}$, precipitation $_{j,d}$, and More-Prohibitive $_{s(j),m(d)}$, controlling for time-varying changes in the direct effects of temperature, precipitation, and concealed-carry laws on our outcomes of interest.⁹

Our variable of interest is temperature $_{j,d} \times$ More-Prohibitive $_{s(j),m(d)}$. The intuition for this approach is closest to a difference-in-differences research design, with temperature playing the role of time. In a cross-sectional setting with only one month of data, β_1^{temp} would capture the differential temperature-homicide relationship between states with more- and less-prohibitive gun laws in month m . Given that we have data for many months, in our context β_1^{temp} captures a variance-weighted average of the cross-sectional difference between periods.

Interpreting the interaction term as a causal moderator requires the assumption that no other (unobserved) policies or time-invariant local factors, which are correlated with these laws, also moderate the temperature-homicide relationship. Unlike much of the existing literature on gun laws, our emphasis on the effect of temperature elevates the omitted variable bias concern to the level of the interaction term. Although there are likely many differences between states that could directly influence violent crime, it is plausible that many of these factors do not affect the temperature-crime relationship. Nevertheless, we cannot rule out the possibility that a subset of the differences influencing violent crime might also affect the temperature-crime relationship.

B. Difference-in-Differences-in-Temperature

As noted, the residual threat to identification when using the Difference-in-Temperature approach is that places with different concealed-carry policies are different in other ways, and that these other differences also affect the temperature-homicide relationship.

If these unobservable confounders are fixed over time, we can address this threat by using law changes in a panel design. We refer to this approach as the difference-in-differences-in-temperature (DiDiT) approach, which exploits within-place changes in concealed-carry laws alongside within-place variation in temperature over time.

We estimate the following empirical specification:

$$y_{j,d} = \alpha_{s(j),m(d)} + \gamma_{m(d)}f(w_{j,d}) + \gamma_{s(j)}f(w_{j,d}) + \beta_2^w f(w_{j,d}) \times \text{More-Prohibitive}_{s(j),m(d)} + \varepsilon_{j,d}. \quad (2)$$

⁸We define more-prohibitive laws to be in effect when the ability to carry a concealed gun is prohibited or subject to a may-issue permit policy. For each month, the policy that was in place for the greatest number of days is applied.

⁹We also include week of year and day of week fixed effects to control for the extent to which seasonality in the weather and homicides are correlated. Our findings are not sensitive to these additional controls.

The intuition for this approach is closest to a triple differences research design. The three dimensions of the triple difference are state, month-year, and temperature. In the above specification, we control for state-month-year fixed effects. We also include month-year and state-specific temperature and precipitation controls, accounting for time-varying changes and state-specific differences in the direct effects of temperature and precipitation on homicide.

The triple interaction of temperature, state, and “post” identifies β_2^{temp} under the assumption that the temperature-homicide relationship would have remained the same absent the change of law. Under this assumption, β_2^{temp} tells us the degree to which the temperature-homicide relationship changes when a more-prohibitive concealed-carry law is in place.¹⁰

We also implement a more restrictive version of the DiDiT design in which we control for jurisdiction-state-month-year fixed effects,

$$y_{j,d} = \alpha_{j,m(d)} + \gamma_{m(d)}f(w_{j,d}) + \gamma_{j,d}f(w_{j,d}) + \beta_3^w f(w_{j,d}) \times \text{More-Prohibitive}_{s(j),m(d)} + \varepsilon_{j,d}. \quad (3)$$

By exploiting within-jurisdiction variation in daily temperature and precipitation, this more restrictive specification provides even more support for the assumption that day-to-day temperature and precipitation realizations are uncorrelated with other factors that also affect the likelihood of committing a violent crime.

Standard errors. In both research designs, we cluster standard errors at the state level, as this is the geographic level at which the policy varies. Our results are also robust to the use of Conley standard errors that account for more arbitrary patterns of spatial dependence. Statistical inference was most conservative when clustering at the state level.

C. The Baseline Temperature-Homicide Relationship

Both the DiT and DiDiT research designs include month or location-month specific temperature slopes, allowing the temperature-homicide relationship to vary flexibly over time and space. However, this means that only the relative effect of temperature between policy regimes is identified. To provide readers with a benchmark understanding of the temperature-homicide relationship in our setting, we also present estimates of the daily temperature-homicide relationship.

We start by reporting the unconditional relationship between temperature and homicide, documenting the empirical relevance of the association in the raw data,

$$y_{j,d} = \alpha + \gamma f(w_{j,d}) + \varepsilon_{j,d}. \quad (4)$$

¹⁰Given the staggered timing of treatment, this design is subject to the negative weighting concerns raised by the recent difference-in-differences literature (de Chaisemartin & D’Haultfœuille, 2020; Goodman-Bacon, 2021; Callaway & Sant’Anna, 2021). We will show that our estimates are robust to accounting for staggered timing.

TABLE 2.—THE BASELINE TEMPERATURE-HOMICIDE RELATIONSHIP

	Homicides per 100,000 people			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: All states and years				
Temperature (°C)	0.000213*** (0.0000218)	0.000688*** (0.0000652)	0.000170*** (0.0000477)	0.000105*** (0.0000348)
Precipitation (mm)	−0.0000276 (0.0000205)	−0.0000609*** (0.0000209)	−0.0000506*** (0.0000208)	−0.0000497** (0.0000203)
Observations	13,495,334	13,495,334	13,495,334	13,495,334
Dependent variable mean	0.012	0.012	0.012	0.012
Panel B: “More-Prohibitive”				
Temperature (°C)	0.000162*** (0.0000322)	0.000430*** (0.0000825)	0.00000121 (0.0000557)	−0.0000433 (0.0000510)
Precipitation (mm)	−0.0000324 (0.0000303)	−0.0000627** (0.0000308)	−0.0000383 (0.0000300)	−0.0000469 (0.0000304)
Observations	3,349,396	3,349,396	3,349,396	3,349,396
Dependent variable mean	0.0092	0.0092	0.0092	0.0092
Panel C: “Less-Prohibitive”				
Temperature (°C)	0.000219*** (0.0000236)	0.000657*** (0.0000683)	0.000225*** (0.0000593)	0.000155*** (0.0000438)
Precipitation (mm)	−0.0000225 (0.0000257)	−0.0000526** (0.0000262)	−0.0000544** (0.0000259)	−0.0000504** (0.0000256)
Observations	10,145,938	10,145,938	10,145,938	10,145,938
Dependent variable mean	0.013	0.013	0.013	0.013
Month-year fixed effects	No	Yes	—	—
State-month-year fixed effects	No	No	Yes	—
Jurisdiction-month-year fixed effects	No	No	No	Yes
Week-of-year fixed effects	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Day-of-week fixed effects	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

The outcome variable is the number of homicides per 100,000 people. The unit of analysis is a jurisdiction day. Homicide is defined as non-negligent homicide. Temperature is defined as daily average temperature measured in degrees Celsius. Precipitation is defined as total daily precipitation measured in millimeters. Standard errors are clustered at the county level. Significance levels are indicated as *0.1, **0.05, and ***0.01.

We then estimate the average temperature-homicide relationship, using empirical specifications that align most closely with our DiT and DiDiT specifications. To provide a benchmark temperature-homicide relationship for our DiT analysis, we estimate the following specification:

$$y_{j,d} = \alpha_{m(d)} + \gamma f(w_{j,d}) + \varepsilon_{j,d}. \quad (5)$$

This specification controls for month-year fixed effects, controlling for other factors that are common across jurisdictions that correlate with month-to-month variation in the daily temperature-homicide relationship.

To provide a benchmark temperature-homicide relationship for our DiDiT analysis, we estimate the following specification:

$$y_{j,d} = \alpha_{\ell,m(d)} + \gamma f(w_{j,d}) + \varepsilon_{j,d}, \quad (6)$$

where $\alpha_{m(d),\ell}$ represents state-month-year or jurisdiction-state-month-year fixed effects, controlling for state- or jurisdiction-specific time-varying factors that correlate with month-to-month variation in the daily temperature-homicide relationship. In our analysis of the baseline temperature-homicide relationship, we cluster standard errors at the county level—the level of spatial variation in the temperature and precipitation data. Our results are also robust to clustering at the state level or to using Conley standard er-

rors that account for more arbitrary patterns of spatial dependence.

IV. Results

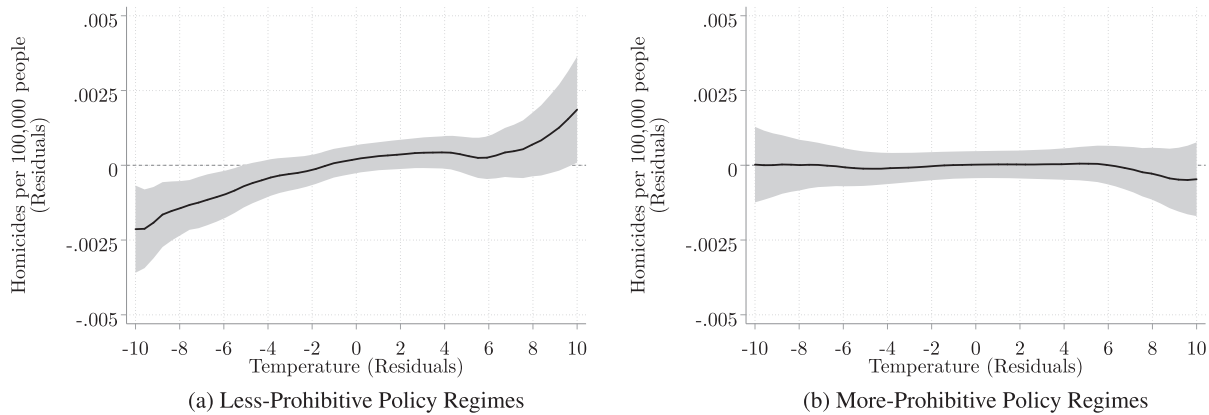
In this section, we present the results of our analysis. First, we present evidence on the baseline temperature-homicide relationship. These results provide context and a benchmark to compare our DiT and DiDiT estimates.

A. The Baseline Temperature-Homicide Relationship

We begin by presenting evidence on the baseline temperature-homicide relationship. The results of this analysis are presented in table 2. In column 1, we present the unconditional relationship between daily temperature variation and the number of homicides per capita. We estimate that, on average, a 1° C increase in daily average temperature is associated with 0.000213 more homicides per 100,000 people, a 1.7% increase compared to the mean. We do not estimate a significant unconditional relationship between precipitation and the number of homicides per 100,000 people.

In column 2, we present an estimate of the within-month temperature-homicide relationship, using the specification in equation (5). We estimate that, on average, a 1° C increase in daily average temperature is associated with 0.000688 more homicides per 100,000 people, a 5.7% increase compared to

FIGURE 2.—DIFFERENCES IN THE TEMPERATURE-HOMICIDE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MORE-PROHIBITIVE AND LESS-PROHIBITIVE RIGHT-TO-CARRY STATES



Homicides per 100,000 people and daily average temperature are separately regressed on daily precipitation, jurisdiction-month-year, week-of-year, and day-of-week fixed effects. Figure a plots the semiparametric relationship between these regressions for the jurisdiction-day observations that are exposed to less-prohibitive concealed-carry laws during our sample. Figure b plots the semiparametric relationship between these regressions for the jurisdiction-day observations that are exposed to more-prohibitive concealed-carry laws during our sample. These figures correspond to column 4 of table 2.

the mean—a more responsive relationship than the unconditional association. Unlike the unconditional relationship, we estimate that a one millimeter increase in daily precipitation is associated with 0.0000609 fewer homicides per 100,000 people, a 0.5% decrease compared to the mean. This finding is consistent with the premise that there are fewer homicides on rainy days because there is less social interaction. These estimates provide a benchmark temperature-homicide relationship for our DiT analysis.

In column 3, we exploit within-state-month variation in daily temperature. We estimate that, on average, a 1°C increase in daily average temperature is associated with 0.000170 more homicides per 100,000 people, a 1.4% increase compared to the mean. This estimate is smaller than the within-month relationship, as it controls for both time-invariant and time-varying differences between states in the temperature-homicide relationship. We also estimate a smaller baseline relationship between precipitation and the number of homicides per 100,000 people using this specification ($-0.0000506/\text{mm}$), a 0.4% decrease compared to the mean. These estimates provide a benchmark temperature-homicide relationship for our state-level DiDiT analysis.

In column 4, we exploit within-jurisdiction-month variation in daily temperature. We estimate that, on average, a 1°C increase in daily average temperature is associated with 0.000105 more homicides per 100,000 people, a 0.8% increase compared to the mean. By absorbing both time-invariant and time-varying differences between jurisdictions, we are left with less residual variation in the temperature-homicide relationship. The precipitation-homicide relationship, by contrast, is similar in magnitude ($-0.0000497/\text{mm}$). These estimates provide a benchmark temperature-homicide relationship for our jurisdiction-level DiDiT analysis.

In panels B and C of table 2, we split the data between “More-Prohibitive” and “Less-Prohibitive” policy regimes. In all specifications, we estimate that, on average, the relationship is less responsive during “More-Prohibitive” pol-

icy regimes. Figure 2 presents a visual comparison of the temperature-homicide relationship using the most restrictive within-jurisdiction-month variation. We estimate a positive temperature-homicide relationship in less-prohibitive policy regimes and a flat relationship in more-prohibitive policy regimes. This exercise is descriptive. To consider the causal effect of RTC laws on the temperature-homicide relationship we turn to our DiT and DiDiT research designs.

Appendix A presents additional results, exploring sensitivity in the baseline temperature-homicide relationship to alternative nonlinear specifications (figures A1 and A2) and alternative measures of temperature (table A1). We also explore how the relationship varies between different climates and seasons (tables A2 and A3). Overall, we estimate that the relationship is quite linear, consistent with previous work, and not particularly sensitive to restrictions on climate, seasons, or alternative measurements of temperature.

B. Main Results

Table 3 presents the main results from our two research designs. Column 1 presents the estimate from our DiT research design presented in equation (1). We estimate that a 1°C increase in temperature is associated with 0.000511 fewer homicides per 100,000 people during more-prohibitive policy regimes, a 4.2% reduction compared to the mean. Compared to our baseline estimate of the temperature-homicide relationship using month-year fixed effects ($0.000641/1^{\circ}\text{C}$), our DiT estimate suggests that more-prohibitive concealed-carry laws substantially attenuate the temperature-homicide relationship.

Column 2 imposes a sample restriction, dropping observations for one year on either side of any policy changes. This “donut specification” gives us a sample that is more plausibly free of (temporary) confounding changes in local preferences or priorities, meaning that our comparisons

TABLE 3.—CONCEALED CARRY LAWS AND THE TEMPERATURE-HOMICIDE RELATIONSHIP

	Homicides per 100,000 people				
	(1) DiT	(2) DiT	(3) DiDiT	(4) DiDiT	(5) DiDiT
Temperature × more-prohibitive	−0.000511** (0.000200)	−0.000562*** (0.000203)	−0.000332** (0.000159)	−0.000349*** (0.000112)	−0.000216* (0.000115)
Precipitation × more-prohibitive	−0.0000256 (0.0000482)	−0.0000354 (0.0000505)	0.00000648 (0.0000687)	0.00000724 (0.0000751)	−0.000238 (0.000161)
Observations	13,495,334	12,979,068	13,495,334	13,495,334	8,501,265
Dependent variable mean	0.012	0.012	0.012	0.012	0.012
Month-year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	—	—	—
Month-specific controls	Yes	Yes	—	—	—
State-month-year fixed effects	No	No	Yes	—	—
Jurisdiction-month-year fixed effects	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Weather controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Donut specification	No	Yes	No	No	No
Aggregation of cohort-specific estimates	No	No	No	No	Yes
Week-of-year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Day-of-week fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

The outcome variable is the number of homicides per 100,000 people. The unit of analysis is a jurisdiction day. Homicide is defined as nonnegligent homicide. “More-Prohibitive” is a time-varying indicator for whether the state is in a “More-Prohibitive” concealed carry policy environment. Temperature is defined as daily average temperature measured in degrees Celsius. Precipitation is defined as total daily precipitation measured in millimeters. Column 1 presents estimates from our Differences-in-Temperature specification [equation (1)]. Column 2 continues with the same specification as column 1, but drops the years either side of concealed carry policy changes. Column 3 presents estimates from our Difference-in-Differences-in-Temperature specification [equation (2)]. Column 4 presents estimates from our Difference-in-Differences-in-Temperature specification [equation (3)]. Column 5 represents a weighted average of cohort-specific estimates, using the specification in column 4, to address staggered timing concerns. Weather controls include month-year-specific temperature and rainfall coefficients (all specifications), state-specific temperature and rainfall coefficients (column 3), and jurisdiction-specific temperature and rainfall coefficients (columns 4 and 5). The DiT specifications (columns 1 and 2) also control for month-specific “More-Prohibitive” coefficients. In all specifications, we include week-of-year and day-of-week fixed effects to account for seasonality in the relationship between rainfall, temperature, and homicides. Standard errors are clustered at the state level. Significance levels are indicated as *0.1, **0.05, and ***0.01.

between states are more likely to reflect a stable policy environment. The estimated coefficient is very similar in magnitude to the estimates in column 1.

Column 3 presents the state version of our DiDiT approach presented in equation (2). Under the assumption that the temperature-homicide relationship would have remained the same absent the law change, the coefficient estimate captures the effect of more-prohibitive concealed-carry laws on the temperature-homicide relationship. We estimate that a 1°C increase in temperature is associated with 0.000332 fewer homicides per 100,000 people during more-prohibitive policy regimes, a 2.8% reduction compared to the mean. When compared to the average temperature-homicide relationship presented in column 3 of table 2, this estimate again suggests that more-prohibitive concealed-carry laws substantially attenuate the temperature-homicide relationship.

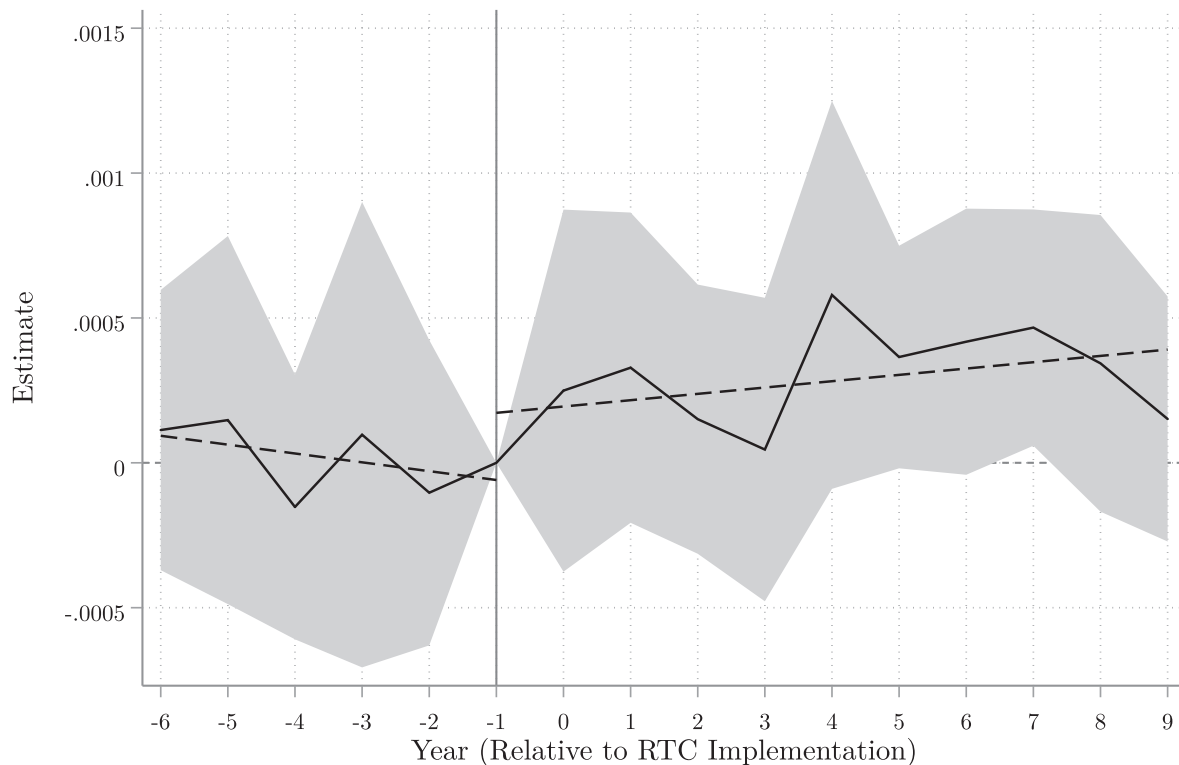
Column 4 presents the more restrictive jurisdiction specification presented in equation (3). This approach includes jurisdiction-month-year fixed effects, month-year specific temperature and precipitation effects, and jurisdiction-specific temperature and precipitation effects. This more restrictive specification means that we are exploiting within-jurisdiction variation in daily temperature, absorbing any residual time-invariant confounding variation between jurisdictions that could be biasing the direct temperature-homicide relationship. The estimated coefficient is very similar in magnitude to the state DiDiT estimate, indicating that such concerns are not of first-order importance. It is also more precisely estimated. Compared to the average temperature-homicide relationship presented in column 4 of table 2, this estimate provides further evidence that more-

prohibitive concealed-carry laws substantially attenuate the temperature-homicide relationship.

In column 5, we engage with concerns about negative weights, which can arise in contexts (like ours) when the introduction of policy changes is staggered (de Chaisemartin & D’Haultfœuille, 2020; Gardner, 2021; Goodman-Bacon, 2021; Borusyak et al., 2021; Callaway & Sant’Anna, 2021). Given that we are not estimating a standard difference-in-differences model, but rather the differential effect of temperature on homicides following the introduction of less-prohibitive concealed-carry laws, we are not able to implement the new difference-in-differences estimators directly. Instead, we draw inspiration from Callaway and Sant’Anna (2021) and estimate cohort-specific effects, where a cohort is a set of states that changed their policies at the same time. Because we are now comparing a cohort of states that transition to less-prohibitive regimes at the same time with those that never transition, there is no staggered timing. We then produce a sample-weighted average of these cohort-specific effects. Our estimates are slightly smaller but not statistically distinguishable from our other DiDiT estimates, suggesting that concerns about negative weights are not likely to be a first-order concern in this setting.

Figure 3 presents an event study visualization of our results. Specifically, we explore how the temperature-homicide relationship evolves over time, before and after a policy change (from more-prohibitive to less-prohibitive concealed-carry laws, as this is the direction of most policy changes in practice). Before the policy change, we see no differential relationship between temperature and homicide—the effect of temperature on homicides is common between more-prohibitive and eventually

FIGURE 3.—EVENT STUDY OF THE DIFFERENTIAL EFFECT OF RIGHT-TO-CARRY LAWS ON THE TEMPERATURE-HOMICIDE RELATIONSHIP



This figure plots estimates of the daily temperature-homicide relationship, averaged over the 12-month periods before and after the introduction of less-prohibitive concealed-carry laws. Homicides per 100,000 people is regressed on daily average temperature interacted with indicator variables for each 12 month period before and after the implementation of the policy. The coefficients are estimated using the following specification: $y_{j,d} = \alpha_{j,m(d)} + \gamma_{m(d)}f(w_{j,d}) + \gamma_j f(w_{j,d}) + \beta_{\tau} \sum_{\tau=-6}^9 f(w_{j,d}) \times \text{More-Prohibitive}_{s(j),\tau} + \epsilon_{j,d}$. The figure plots the coefficients on the interaction terms between temperature and the indicator variables from 6 years before until 9 years after the policy implementation.

less-prohibitive states. After the policy change, the responsiveness of the temperature-homicide relationship immediately increases in less-prohibitive states compared to more-prohibitive states, resulting in an average relative increase of 0.0003 homicides per 100,000 residents/ 1° C/day; this change persists for the entire post-period. The rapid and persistent shift from one equilibrium to another is consistent with the policy having caused the observed change, although as with any difference-in-differences style analysis, we cannot rule out the possibility that other concurrent permanent changes in preferences or priorities might also moderate the temperature-homicide relationship.

Our results are robust to a variety of alternative specifications that: use maximum or minimum daily temperature rather than mean temperature (table B1); restrict the sample to different climates and seasons (tables B2 and B3); use a binary outcome variable—whether any homicide was reported on a given day (table B4); aggregate the data to the county-day level (table B5). We also show that our findings are robust to using UCR data (table B6).

Finally, we explore the extent to which our findings could be driven by other coinciding gun policies. We use data on background checks (both private sale and dealership checks) and waiting periods (both explicit waiting periods, permit requirements to purchase a gun, and states that were affected by the Brady Act between 1994 and 1998). We fo-

cus on waiting periods and background checks because they are consistently measured, commonly evaluated in the existing literature, have been shown to be empirically relevant in affecting violent crime, and because we have data on their implementation at the state-month level for the full sample period. We also use an aggregate index capturing the number of prohibitive gun laws implemented in each state-year during our sample period, provided by <https://www.statefirearmlaws.org> to try capture broader policy variation that is not accounted for by waiting periods and background checks. In the DiT research design, including the interaction between these policy variables and temperature serves to control for other policy differences between states that may also moderate the temperature-homicide relationship and explores the extent to which there is independent variation across different gun policies. In panel A of table B7, we estimate that policy regimes with waiting periods and the states with a larger number of prohibitive gun laws are associated with attenuated temperature-homicide relationship when evaluated independently; however, when we control for all of these variables in one regression, only the interaction between *Temperature* $\times$ *More-Prohibitive* coefficient remains statistically significant.

In the DiDiT research design, controlling for the interaction of temperature with other gun policies provides an opportunity to consider the likelihood that concurrent changes

TABLE 4.—THE DIFFERENTIAL TEMPERATURE-HOMICIDE AND TEMPERATURE-ASSAULT RELATIONSHIPS (FIREARMS VS NON-FIREARMS)

	DiT analysis			DiDiT analysis		
	(1) All	(2) Firearms	(3) Nonfirearms	(4) All	(5) Firearms	(6) Nonfirearms
Panel A: Homicides						
Temperature $\times$ more-prohibitive	−0.000511** (0.000200)	−0.000352*** (0.000121)	−0.000159* (0.0000868)	−0.000349*** (0.000112)	−0.000247*** (0.0000841)	−0.000102 (0.0000935)
Dependent variable mean	0.012	0.0069	0.0051	0.012	0.0069	0.0051
Panel B: Aggravated assaults						
Temperature $\times$ more-prohibitive	−0.0283 (0.01981)	−0.00626 (0.003809)	−0.0220 (0.01618)	−0.000120 (0.00161)	−0.000105 (0.000476)	−0.0000148 (0.00140)
Dependent variable mean	0.893	0.142	0.751	0.893	0.142	0.751
Observations	13,495,334	13,495,334	13,495,334	13,495,334	13,495,334	13,495,334
Month-year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	—	—	—
Month-specific controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	—	—	—
Jurisdiction-month-year fixed effects	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Weather controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Week-of-year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Day-of-week fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

In panel A, the outcome variable is the number of nonnegligent homicides per 100,000 people. In panel B, the outcome variable is the number of aggravated assaults per 100,000 people. Columns 1 and 4 report baseline coefficients for our DiT and DiDiT specifications. Columns 2 and 5 use crimes involving firearms as the outcome variable. Columns 3 and 6 use crimes not involving firearms as the outcome variable. The unit of analysis is a jurisdiction-day. “More-Prohibitive” is a time-varying indicator for whether the state is in a “More-Prohibitive” concealed-carry policy environment. Temperature is defined as daily average temperature measured in degrees Celsius. Precipitation is defined as total daily precipitation measured in millimeters. Weather controls include the interaction between Precipitation and “More-Prohibitive” (all specifications), month-year-specific temperature and precipitation coefficients (all specifications) and jurisdiction-specific temperature and precipitation coefficients (columns 4–6). The DiT specifications (columns 1–3) also include controls for month-specific “More-Prohibitive” coefficients. In all specifications, we include week-of-year and day-of-week fixed effects to account for seasonality in the relationship between precipitation, temperature, and violent crime. Standard errors are clustered at the state level. Significance levels are indicated as *0.1, **0.05, and ***0.01.

in preferences or priorities may be empirically relevant as a confounding source of variation. To the extent that changes in gun policies coincide with changes in preferences toward carrying firearms, one might imagine that these changes in preferences have a constant effect on the temperature-homicide relationship. When estimating the moderating relationship between each policy and the temperature-homicide relationship separately, we only estimate a significant relationship for the *Temperature $\times$ More-Prohibitive* coefficient (column 1, panel B, table B7). The estimated coefficients for waiting periods, background checks, and the aggregate index are statistically insignificant (columns 2, 3, and 4, panel B, table B7). When we include all interaction terms in one regression, the *Temperature $\times$ More-Prohibitive* coefficient remains statistically significant and similar in magnitude, indicating that there is independent variation between the different policies and that aggregate changes in gun laws coinciding with right-to-carry laws are unlikely to be driving the results. To the extent that we would expect that changes in gun laws related to waiting periods, background checks, and right-to-carry all coincide with changes in preferences, the absence of an effect for these other policies suggest that our interaction terms are capturing the moderating effect of gun laws. We cannot, however, rule out that our results may be driven by the moderating effect of other laws or policies on temperature that we have not been able to directly control for.

V. Exploring Mechanisms

In this section, we present additional analysis that provides more insight into the mechanisms through which the

temperature-homicide relationship arises, and the circumstances under which RTC laws attenuate the temperature-homicide relationship.

A. Lethality and Displacement Effects

We begin by documenting that our main effects are driven by homicides involving a firearm. Homicides involving a firearm account for almost 60% of all homicides in the data, although we caveat that this number may be coded with error; whether the information is available depends on whether police departments reported this information in the data they uploaded to the FBI, and they might not do so consistently. Panel A of table 4 shows that across both research designs, the differential temperature-homicide relationship in more-prohibitive policy regimes is driven by homicides involving guns. These findings provide support for the interpretation that our main estimates reflect the causal effect of gun laws on the temperature-homicide relationship. We note that the baseline temperature-homicide relationship is also stronger when a firearm is involved, consistent with firearms being more lethal (table C1).

In light of this, it is interesting to explore the extent to which more-prohibitive gun laws result in displacement from “would-be” temperature-driven homicides to more temperature-driven aggravated assaults. On average, we estimate that a 1°C increase in temperature is associated with an additional 0.00669 aggravated assaults per 100,000 people, an increase of 0.8% compared to the mean (table C2). Of this increase, 76% is driven by aggravated assaults that do not involve a firearm. To the extent that this displacement effect exists, we would expect it to offset any attenuating

effects of more-prohibitive policy regimes. Consistent with this, we do not estimate a differential temperature-homicide relationship in more-prohibitive policy regimes (panel B, table 4). The estimated coefficients on the differential temperature-aggravated assault relationship are negative, though small and statistically insignificant, and so we are not able to provide conclusive evidence of a displacement effect. It is possible that the statistically insignificant effect on aggravated assaults reflect a net zero, whereby an increase in aggravated firearm assaults (displaced homicides) is offset by a broader policy-driven reduction in other aggravated firearm assaults, attenuating the aggregate reduction in violent crime.

B. Social Interactions versus Impulse Control/Aggression

Next, we explore the mechanisms through which temperature drives our results. Broadly, temperature could affect violent behavior in two primary ways: (1) behavioral channels, for example, increased aggression or reduced impulse control and (2) social channels, for example, more social interaction on warmer days.¹¹

First, we consider what can be learned from the precipitation-homicide relationship. Arguably, days with more precipitation should only affect violence through reduced social interactions. Consistent with this, we estimate that more precipitation is associated with fewer homicides (table 2). In our main analysis, however, the *Precipitation* $\times$ *More-Prohibitive* coefficient is small and statistically insignificant (table 3). This suggests that, on the margin, gun laws are not affecting the types of homicide offense that are sensitive to precipitation; that is, those that arise in contexts with greater social interaction.

Second, we consider how our estimates vary between locations. If higher temperatures are changing people's movement patterns in a way that increases social interaction, we would expect them to leave the home to go outside or another location when it is warmer outside. To explore this, we look at the temperature-homicide relationships for homicides that occur at home, outside, or in other locations. In the NIBRS data, 62% of homicides occur in the home, 20% occur outside, and 18% occur at a different indoor location. Table C3 reports the baseline temperature-homicide relationships for each location. We see that, across all specifications, the strongest temperature-homicide relationship is within the home. A 1° C increase in temperature is associated with an additional 0.0000579 homicides per 100,000 people at home and 0.0000432 homicides per 100,000 people outside. We do not estimate a statistically significant temperature-homicide relationship in other locations after location fixed effects

are included in the empirical specification. Panel A of table 5 documents that across both research designs, more-prohibitive policy regimes are associated with attenuated temperature-homicide relationships in all locations. The existence of an outdoor and home effect provides additional support for the hypothesis that increased aggression or lower impulse control are important mechanisms.

Third, we consider the extent to which variation in the temperature-homicide relationship throughout the day may provide insights into the underlying mechanisms. For example, we might expect the social interaction mechanism to be distributed more evenly throughout the day than impulse control/aggression mechanisms. If anything, we might expect social interactions to be more likely and impulse control and aggression effects to be less likely, in the morning before the heat of the day. Table C4 shows that hotter days are associated with more homicides in the morning, afternoon, and evening. In the data, 16% of homicides happen in the morning between 6 am and noon, 20% of homicides happen in the afternoon between noon and 6 pm, and 64% of homicides happen at night between 6 pm and 6 am. Compared to the mean, we estimate that the baseline temperature-homicide relationship is most responsive in the afternoon. Across both research designs, we do not estimate a statistically significant differential effect in the temperature-homicide relationship for homicides that occur in the cooler morning hours, but do estimate differential effects in the afternoon and evening (panel B, table 5). These findings provide further support for the empirical relevance of impulse control/aggression mechanisms.

VI. Discussion

In this paper, we explore the relationship between temperature, gun control laws, and violent crime, specifically homicides. Using two different research designs, our findings show that more-prohibitive policy regimes are associated with an attenuated temperature-homicide relationship.

As policy regimes have become less-prohibitive over time we calculate that the consequences of temperature on homicide have become more important. Holding fixed the population in 2016, but applying the 1991 policy regime—23% of the population—we calculate that a 1° increase in temperature would have been associated with 97 more homicides than if more-prohibitive laws were in place. By contrast holding fixed the population living in less-prohibitive states in 2016—72%—we calculate that a 1° increase in temperature would be associated with 299 more homicides than if more-prohibitive laws were in place. The combination of rising average temperatures alongside a trajectory towards less-prohibitive policy regimes suggest that temperature-driven homicides are likely to become more relevant, unless we are able to disrupt the influence of external factors in shaping violent behavior.

Using a social cost of homicide of \$11.3 million (2021) from McCollister et al. (2010), we calculate that aggregate

¹¹ It has been argued that the behavioral channel results from changes in the autonomic nervous system (ANS). The ANS is divided into two subsystems: the parasympathetic nervous system (PSNS) and the sympathetic nervous system (SNS). The PSNS is known to be responsible for stimulating arousal and is complementary to the SNS, which is responsible for stimulating activities associated with the fight-or-flight response.

TABLE 5.—THE DIFFERENTIAL TEMPERATURE-HOMICIDE RELATIONSHIP (TIME OF DAY AND LOCATION)

	Homicides per 100,000 people					
	DiT analysis			DiDiT analysis		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	At home	Outside	Other	At home	Outside	Other
Panel A: Location						
Temperature × more-prohibitive	−0.000180* (0.0000952)	−0.000142** (0.0000622)	−0.000189** (0.0000839)	−0.000173** (0.0000858)	−0.0000972* (0.0000499)	−0.0000784 (0.0000494)
Dependent variable mean	0.0073	0.0027	0.0021	0.0073	0.0027	0.0021
	Homicides per 100,000 people					
	DiT analysis			DiDiT analysis		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	6 am–12 pm	12 pm–6 pm	6 pm–6 am	6 am–12 pm	12 pm–6 pm	6 pm–6 am
Panel B: Time of day						
Temperature × more-prohibitive	−0.0000298 (0.0000269)	−0.000112** (0.0000460)	−0.000309** (0.000143)	0.0000325 (0.0000354)	−0.000130* (0.0000772)	−0.000241* (0.000132)
Dependent variable mean	0.0019	0.0024	0.0075	0.0019	0.0024	0.0075
Observations	13,495,334	13,495,334	13,495,334	13,495,334	13,495,334	13,495,334
Month-year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	—	—	—
Month-specific controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	—	—	—
Jurisdiction-month-year fixed effects	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Weather controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Week-of-year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Day-of-week fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

In panel A, the outcome variables are the number of the number of nonnegligent homicides per 100,000 people that were: committed at home (columns 1 and 4); committed outside (columns 2 and 5); committed in other locations (columns 3 and 6). In panel A, the outcome variables are the number of nonnegligent homicides per 100,000 people that were: committed in the morning (columns 1 and 4); committed in the afternoon (columns 2 and 5); committed at night (columns 3 and 6). The unit of analysis is a jurisdiction-day. “More-Prohibitive” is a time-varying indicator for whether the state is in a “More-Prohibitive” concealed-carry policy environment. Temperature is defined as daily average temperature measured in degrees Celsius. Precipitation is defined as total daily precipitation measured in millimeters. Weather controls include the interaction between Precipitation and “More-Prohibitive” (all specifications), month-year-specific temperature and precipitation coefficients (all specifications) and jurisdiction-specific temperature and precipitation coefficients (columns 4–6). The DiT specifications (columns 1–3) also control for month-specific “More-Prohibitive” coefficients. In all specifications, we include week-of-year and day-of-week fixed effects to account for seasonality in the relationship between precipitation, temperature, and homicides. Standard errors are clustered at the state level. Significance levels are indicated as *0.1, **0.05, and ***0.01.

willingness to pay to reduce the risk of temperature-driven homicides would be \$3.380 billion/1°C.¹² This is comparable in magnitude to the expected social benefits associated with: 12,832 additional police officers (Chalfin & McCrary, 2018);¹³ 411 additional substance abuse treatment facilities (Bondurant et al., 2018);¹⁴ 7,052 mental health-care facilities (Deza et al., 2022);¹⁵ expanding programs like the Rapid Employment and Development Initiative in Chicago—which provided an 18-month job alongside cognitive behavioral therapy and other social support—to an additional 3,481 participants (Bhatt et al., 2023).¹⁶

¹²\$3.380 billion/1°C = $\sum_{j,2016} 365.25 \text{ days} \times -0.000349 \text{ homicides per day per } 100,000 \text{ people} \times \text{the number of people living in jurisdiction, } j \text{ of less-prohibitive state, } s, \text{ in } 2016 \times \$11.3 \text{ million}.$

¹³We use Chalfin and McCrary (2018)’s benefit cost ratio of 1.63. We assume a cost per “fully-fledged” police officer of \$161,532 in 2021. Therefore the estimated social benefit per officer is \$263,397. \$3.380 billion/\$263,397 = 12,832 additional officers.

¹⁴Bondurant et al. (2018) estimate that an additional substance abuse treatment facility would be associated with an expected social benefit of \$8.22 million in 2021, including avoided drug-related mortality and crime, with a benefit cost ratio of 6.95. \$3.380 billion/\$8.22 million = 411.

¹⁵Deza et al. (2022) estimate that opening ten additional mental health-care offices would be associated with a \$4.793 million reduction in crime costs in 2021. Opening one office would deliver \$479,300 in benefits. \$3.380 billion/\$479,300 = 7,052 facilities.

¹⁶Bhatt et al. (2023) calculate that participation in the READI program in Chicago could be expected to generate \$970,890 in expected social benefits per participant (2021) at a cost of \$48,756 (2021)—a benefit–cost ratio of 20. \$3.380 billion/\$970,890 = 3,481 participants.

We note caveats. First, our findings speak only to the effects of RTC laws on temperature-driven homicides. Temperature-driven criminal activity is impulsive, not premeditated. Our results do not speak to the effects of RTC laws on premeditated crimes or other impulsive crimes. Second, a causal interpretation of our results requires the assumption that there are no other differences between states (our “Difference-in-Temperature” design) or other concurrent changes over time alongside a policy change (our “Difference-in-Differences-in-Temperature” design) that also affect the temperature-homicide relationship. While confounding influences in this context are likely to be a strict subset of the confounding influences that affect preceding research, we cannot rule out their existence. Third, our analysis and discussion do not answer the normative question of whether more-prohibitive laws should be implemented. Our analysis does not provide evidence on the costs to gun owners and there are reasons to believe the costs would be nontrivial.¹⁷ Rather, we have shown

¹⁷According to recent Gallup poll statistics, 42% of the population believes that gun control should remain as is or become less strict (Gallup, 2023). By revealed preference, gun rights lobbyists have, on average, spent more than \$11 million each year over the past decade to reduce restrictions on the ability of individuals to buy, carry, or use a gun (OpenSecrets, 2023). More concretely, Moshary et al. (2023) provide evidence to suggest that demand for firearms is inelastic and that the cost to gun owners of restricting access captured by reduced consumer surplus may be substantial.

that temperature is an empirically relevant and meaningful driver of violent crime. If less-prohibitive concealed-carry laws increase other impulsive homicides and premeditated homicides, temperature-driven homicides will exacerbate the social cost of concealed-carry laws. If less-prohibitive concealed-carry laws deter other impulsive homicides and premeditated homicides, temperature-driven homicides will offset the social benefits of concealed-carry laws. To the extent that temperature-driven homicides and other impulse homicides account for a significant share of all homicides, we may expect there to be greater heterogeneity in the overall effects of laws, regulations, and policies over time and space. When external factors, such as temperature, are an important influence of economic and social outcomes, they will reduce the external validity of policy evaluations. Understanding the extent to which we can influence external factors that shape violent behavior and other welfare-relevant outcomes remains an important avenue for future research.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, Craig A., "Heat and Violence," *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 10:1 (February 2001), 33–38. 10.1111/1467-8721.00109
- Ayres, Ian, and John J. Donohue III, "Shooting Down the 'More Guns, Less Crime' Hypothesis," *Stanford Law Review* 55:4 (April 2003), 1193–1312.
- Bhatt, Monica P., Sara B. Heller, Max Kapustin, Marianne Bertrand, and Christopher Blattman, "Predicting and Preventing Gun Violence: An Experimental Evaluation of READI Chicago," mimeo (2023).
- Black, Dan A., and Daniel S. Nagin, "Do 'Right to Carry' Laws Reduce Violent Crime?" *Journal of Legal Studies* 27:1 (January 1998), 209–219. 10.1086/468019
- Bondurant, Samuel R., Jason M. Lindo, and Isaac D. Swensen, "Substance Abuse Treatment Centers and Local Crime," *Journal of Urban Economics* 104 (March 2018), 124–133. 10.1016/j.jue.2018.01.007
- Borusyak, Kirill, Xavier Jaravel, and Jann Spiess, "Revisiting Event Study Designs: Robust and Efficient Estimation," mimeo (September 2021).
- Burke, Marshall, Solomon M. Hsiang, and Edward Miguel, "Climate and Conflict," *Annual Review of Economics* 7:1 (August 2015), 577–617. 10.1146/annurev-economics-080614-115430
- Callaway, Brantly, and Pedro H. C. Sant'Anna, "Difference-in-Differences with Multiple Time Periods," *Journal of Econometrics* 225:2 (December 2021), 200–230. 10.1016/j.jeconom.2020.12.001
- Carleton, Tamma A., and Solomon M. Hsiang, "Social and Economic Impacts of Climate," *Science* 353:6304 (September 2016), aad9837. 10.1126/science.aad9837
- Carr, Jillian B., and Jennifer L. Doleac, "The Geography, Incidence, and Underreporting of Gun Violence: New Evidence Using ShotSpotter Data," *Brookings Research Paper* (April 2016).
- , "Keep the Kids Inside? Juvenile Curfews and Urban Gun Violence," this REVIEW 100 (October 2018), 609–618.
- CDC, "Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Health Statistics. Underlying Cause of Death 1999–2020 on CDC WONDER Online Database" (2020), available at: <https://wonder.cdc.gov/ucd-icd10.html>, accessed: June 14, 2023.
- Chalfin, Aaron, and Justin McCrary, "Are U.S. Cities Underpoliced? Theory and Evidence," this REVIEW 100:1 (March 2018), 167–186.
- Colmer, Jonathan, "Temperature, Labor Reallocation, and Industrial Production: Evidence from India," *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 13 (October 2021), 101–124. 10.1257/app.20190249
- Colmer, Jonathan, Dajun Lin, Siying Liu, and Jay Shimshack, "Why Are Pollution Damages Lower in Developed Countries? Insights from High-Income, High-Pollution Hong Kong," *Journal of Health Economics* 79 (September 2021), 102511. 10.1016/j.jhealeco.2021.102511
- Curtis, Craig, Randy W. Overbeek, Miles V. Condon, and Shannon B. Rinaldo, "A Relationship between Temperature and Aggression in NFL Football Penalties," *Journal of Sport and Health Science* 5:2 (June 2016), 205–210. 10.1016/j.jshs.2015.01.001
- de Chaisemartin, Clément, and Xavier D'Haultfœuille, "Two-Way Fixed Effects Estimators with Heterogeneous Treatment Effects," *American Economic Review* 110:9 (September 2020), 2964–2996. 10.1257/aer.20181169
- Dell, Melissa, Benjamin F. Jones, and Benjamin A. Olken, "What Do We Learn from the Weather? The New Climate-Economy Literature," *Journal of Economic Literature* 52:3 (September 2014), 740–798. 10.1257/jel.52.3.740
- Deza, Monica, Johanna C. Maclean, and Keisha Solomon, "Local Access to Mental Healthcare and Crime," *Journal of Urban Economics* 129 (May 2022), 103410. 10.1016/j.jue.2021.103410
- Donohue, John J., Abhay Aneja, and Kyle D. Weber, "Right-to-Carry Laws and Violent Crime: A Comprehensive Assessment Using Panel Data and a State-Level Synthetic Control Analysis," *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* 16 (May 2019), 198–247. 10.1111/jels.12219
- Gallup, "Guns" (2023), accessed: June 14, 2023. <https://news.gallup.org/poll/1645/guns.aspx>
- Gardner, John, "Two-Stage Differences in Differences," mimeo (April 2021).
- Garg, Teevrat, Gordon C. McCord, and Aleister Montfort, "Can Social Protection Reduce Environmental Damages?" mimeo (April 2023).
- Goodman-Bacon, Andrew, "Difference-in-Differences with Variation in Treatment Timing," *Journal of Econometrics* 225:2 (December 2021), 254–277. 10.1016/j.jeconom.2021.03.014
- Groves, Christopher L., and Craig A. Anderson, *Aggression and Violence* (Evanston, IL: Routledge, November 2016).
- Heilmann, Kilian, and Matthew E. Kahn, "The Urban Crime and Heat Gradient in High and Low Poverty Areas," *Journal of Public Economics* 197 (May 2021), 104408. 10.1016/j.jpubeco.2021.104408
- Heyes, Anthony, and Soodeh Saberian, "Temperature and Decisions: Evidence from 207,000 Court Cases," *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 11:2 (April 2019), 238–265. 10.1257/app.20170223
- Hsiang, Solomon M., Marshall Burke, and Edward Miguel, "Quantifying the Influence of Climate on Human Conflict," *Science* 341:6151 (August 2013), 1235367. 10.1126/science.1235367
- Jacob, Brian, Lars Lefgren, and Enrico Moretti, "The Dynamics of Criminal Behavior: Evidence from Weather Shocks," *Journal of Human Resources* 42 (October 2007), 489–527. 10.3368/jhr.XLII.3.489
- Kenrick, Douglas T., and Steven W. MacFarlane, "Ambient Temperature and Horn Honking: A Field Study of the Heat/Aggression Relationship," *Environment and Behavior* 18:2 (March 1986), 179–191. 10.1177/0013916586182002
- Koenig, Christoph, and David Schindler, "Impulse Purchases, Gun Ownership, and Homicides: Evidence from a Firearm Demand Shock," this REVIEW 105:5 (September 2023), 1271–1286.
- Larrick, Richard P., Thomas A. Timmerman, Andrew M. Carton, and Jason Abrevaya, "Temper, Temperature, and Temptation: Heat-Related Retaliation in Baseball," *Psychological Science* 22:4 (April 2011), 423–428. 10.1177/0956797611399292
- Lott Jr, John R., and David B. Mustard, "Crime, Deterrence, and Right-to-Carry Concealed Handguns," *Journal of Legal Studies* 26:1 (January 1997), 1–68. 10.1086/467988
- Ludwig, Jens, "Concealed-Gun-Carrying Laws and Violent Crime: Evidence from State Panel Data," *International Review of Law and Economics* 18:3 (September 1998), 239–254. 10.1016/S0144-8188(98)00012-X
- Manski, Charles F., and John V. Pepper, "How Do Right-to-Carry Laws Affect Crime Rates? Coping with Ambiguity Using Bounded-Variation Assumptions," this REVIEW 100:2 (May 2018), 232–244.
- McCollister, Kathryn E., Michael T. French, and Hai Fang, "The Cost of Crime to Society: New Crime-Specific Estimates for Policy and Program Evaluation," *Drug and Alcohol Dependence* 108:1–2 (April 2010), 98–109. 10.1016/j.drugalcdep.2009.12.002
- Moody, Carlisle E., "Testing for the Effects of Concealed Weapons Laws: Specification Errors and Robustness," *Journal of Law and Economics* 44:2 (October 2001), 799–813. 10.1086/323313
- Moshary, Sarah, Bradley Shapiro, and Sara Drango, "Preferences for Firearms and Their Implications for Regulation," NBER working paper 30934 (February 2023).

- Mukherjee, Anita, and Nicholas J. Sanders, "The Causal Effect of Heat on Violence: Social Implications of Unmitigated Heat among the Incarcerated," NBER working paper 28987 (July 2021).
- Mullins, Jamie T., and Corey White, "Can Access to Health Care Mitigate the Effects of Temperature on Mortality?" *Journal of Public Economics* 191 (November 2020), 104259. 10.1016/j.jpubeco.2020.104259
- OpenSecrets, "Federal Lobbying by Industries: Summary" (2023), accessed: June 14, 2023. <https://www.opensecrets.org/federal-lobbying/industries/summary?cycle=2023&id=Q13>
- Ranson, Matthew, "Crime, Weather, and Climate Change," *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management* 67:3 (May 2014), 274–302.
- Reifman, Alan, Richard Larrick, and Steven Fein, "Temper and Temperature on the Diamond: The Heat-Aggression Relationship in Major League Baseball," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 17:5 (October 1991), 580–585. 10.1177/0146167291175013
- Schlenker, Wolfram, and Michael J. Roberts, "Nonlinear Temperature Effects Indicate Severe Damages to U.S. Crop Yields under Climate Change," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 106:37 (September 2009), 15594–15598. 10.1073/pnas.0906865106
- Smart, Rosanna, Andrew R. Morral, Rajeev Ramchand, Amanda Charbonneau, Jhacova Williams, Sierra Smucker, Samantha Cherney, and Lea Xenakis, *The Science of Gun Policy: A Critical Synthesis of Research Evidence on the Effects of Gun Policies in the United States*, 3rd ed. (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, March 2023).
- Vrij, Aldert, Jaap Van Der Steen, and Leendert Koppelaar, "Aggression of Police Officers as a Function of Temperature: An Experiment with the Fire Arms Training System," *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* 4 (December 1994), 365–370. 10.1002/casp.2450040505
- Wellford, Charles F., John V. Pepper, and Carol V. Petrie, *Firearms and Violence: A Critical Review* (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2005).